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The Militia Reform'd, &c.

THE following Diſcourſe (moſt Noble LORD) begun at your Requeſt, and finiſh'd within the ſhort time You preſcrib'd, is now made a Preſent to the World; which, if the Favour deſerves any Return, is oblig'd to your Lordſhip for the Publication. You have long ſince juſtly acquir'd the Eſteem of all good Men; and the known meaſure of their Prayers, when they wiſh their Relations happy, is that they may equal your Lordſhip's Probity and Underſtanding. But tho you neither want, nor deſire the regards of any beſides the *Vertuous*; yet no News can be more pleaſing, than to hear of a conſtant

Addition to your Friends, this being an infallible Sign, that the Number of Publick-ſpirited Men increaſes: For he muſt needs be your ſworn Enemy, who is not a hearty lover of his Country. I purpoſely forbear to expreſs your Name, or to enlarge an Encomium, which, I know, will not be grateful, tho unſuſpected of Flattery; and therefore I leave your Lordſhip to be entertain'd by mine, or your own more ſolid Obſervations.

1. TO employ one's Thoughts on what he pleaſes, and to ſpeak as freely as he thinks, is the greateſt Advantage of living in a free Government; the next to this is being Maſter of what you poſſeſs from the Favour of others, or by your own Induſtry; and then, that Merit is indifferently rewarded in Perſons of all Conditions and Degrees. Their due Value is ordinarily ſet upon

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the two laſt by moſt Men, and Life it ſelf ſhould be readily expos'd to maintain or acquire the firſt; for, without it to live, is, in my Opinion, worſe than any Death. Under Deſpotick Princes none dares mutter at his own, or the Sufferings of his Fellows; much leſs put ſo much Confidence in his deareſt Friend, as to condole their common Slavery, where the Informer is tempted with immenſe Rewards, and certain Death or Diſgrace attend the Accus'd. This is the bleſs'd Unity of that Conſtitution which ſome admire ſo much, becauſe no Complaints are heard in it; whence they would perſuade us, that it is alſo free from all Grievances. But where Laws ſecure the Rights of the SUBJECT, with the ſame Care as the Privileges of the MAGISTRATE, no ſooner is any pinch'd but he cries out; and the Authors of the Peoples Oppreſſion are oblig'd to change their Conduct, or to rectify their Miſtakes. Either the PRINCE is diſabus'd, when his MINISTERS have ſeduc'd him by falſe Repreſentations; or ſometimes the MINISTERS refuſe to act, if the PRINCE be reſolv'd upon Arbitrary Courſes. Now, 'tis our peculiar Happineſs

pineſs in *England*, that no other Government in *Europe* is equal to us, whether the DIGNITY of the Magiſtracy, or the LIBERTY of the People be conſider'd. But particularly in all dubious Affairs of Publick Concern, 'tis every Man's Duty to aſſiſt his Country by his Advice, as well as with his Hand in time of Danger: And Matters are as freely debated among us abroad, as within their own Walls by our Senators, who likewiſe in their printed Votes inform us of all their Reſolutions and Proceedings. Theſe Conſiderations, join'd with the Requeſt of a Perſon I honour, have prevail'd with me to deliver my Opinion at this time concerning the modelling and diſciplining of our MILITIA; and I queſtion not but it will by our Wiſe and Auguſt *Parliament* be eſtabliſh'd on ſuch a foot as ſhall effectually defend us hereafter againſt all Foreign Force, and conſtantly preſerve our Freedom and Peace at home.

2. But before I deſcend to any Particulars, I muſt premiſe ſomething concerning the preſent Factions that unfortunately divide us, and which diſcover their fatal Effects too much upon the preſent Occaſion. One ſays, the TORIES will

will never heartily consent to any Model that makes the MILITIA useful: Another replies, that this is only an ill-natur'd Insinuation, while some of the WHIGS oppose the thing openly, and are glad of any Pretence to conceal their true Reasons. But these Names are now of a very doubtful signification. We hear of Court and Country, of Apostate and Adhering WHIGS; nor are the TORIES more united among themselves. 'Tis observable that no Man, however otherwise negligent of his Conduct, is willing to own that without any reason at all he differs from others in Word or Action: but whether he dissembles, or ingenuously tells the Cause of his Dissent, yet *Interest* or *Conscience* (real or mistaken) are the two principal Springs of all Divisions. Indeed we find by frequent Experience, that where *Interest* secretly governs, *Conscience* is openly pretended; but in this case no body's bare Profession is to be regarded, his Actions being the most certain Interpreter of his Thoughts. If one therefore, who would pass for a *Patriot*, has any Interest separate from that of the Publick, he's no longer entitl'd to this Denomination;

but is a real Hypocrite that's ready to ſacrifice the Common Good to his Private Gain, than which no worſe can be ſaid of any particular Faction. Now ſuch Diſtinctions as theſe of WHIG and TORY, cannot miſs of being often made with a great deal of Partiality and Injuſtice; for, according to your predominant Paſſion, he's a WHIG whom you love, and he that you hate's a TORY; and ſo on the contrary, as you happen to be engag'd in either Party. Nothwithſtanding, 'tis ſometimes a mighty eaſy thing to ſee through all theſe feign'd Pretences. Should one, for Example, who was formerly taken for a Friend to LIBERTY, now that he has got or expects Preferment, neglect or oppoſe any Publick Good, in promoting which he might be diſappointed or depriv'd of his Poſt; this Man muſt not think to live always upon the Credit of the old Stock, when it appears that either he has entirely chang'd his Sentiments, or was never ſincere; and that he reſiſted the former Powers, becauſe they were not kind enough to him, but not out of any fix'd Enmity to SLAVERY. Some Folks there be who ſeem'd at the beginning to favour

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the REVOLUTION, yet ever ſince oppos'd the Government, becauſe they think their real or fanci'd Merit not ſufficiently rewarded by the King, to whom it is impoſſible to heap Preferments upon every Body tho never ſo deſerving, unleſs they would be all Commanders without any to obey them. But we likewiſe know others who from Enemies to King *WILLIAM*, are become his Friends; and this of all Changes is the moſt natural and commendable, that one who by Education, Example, or otherwiſe, was once engag'd againſt the Intereſt of his Country, ſhould upon better conſideration deſert a Party to join with the Publick. Several of theſe, it may be, never thought during one hour of the Original or End of Societies, till the late Differences gave 'em an opportunity and incouragement to do it: And if the Diſcovery of Truth proves to be the Reſult of their Study, we ought not to reject their Reaſons now, becauſe we juſtly diſallow'd their Errors before. Certainly a true PATRIOT can be of no Faction, nor conſequently for excluding any from ſharing the Bleſſings of that LIBERTY they are willing to ſupport.

If

If the *Romans* admitted their vanquiſh'd Enemies to an equal participation of their Laws and Privileges, how much more readily ſhould we embrace our own Country-men with both Arms, and welcome the return of our prodigal Brethren to their Duty towards our common Mother? But granting that in this Buſineſs of the MILITIA, ſome of thoſe who promote it are not ſincere, tho Charity commands us to hope the beſt, we need not be ſollicitous whether they are or not, ſo long as the thing is good in it ſelf, and they concur with us in eſtabliſhing a Conſtitution they cannot afterwards reſiſt if they would, nor, I hope, be willing, if they could. This is the higheſt Mark of Sincerity; and, for my part, I ſhall never think him a Fo to *England* that has a hand in it. But if any continue ſtill ſcrupulous, let him not be aſham'd to imitate the Prudence of the great *Apoſtle*, who ſaid,

Phil. 1. 15.---11. *Some preach* Chriſt *even out of Envy and Strife, and ſome alſo out of good Will; The one preach* Chriſt *out of Contention, not ſincerely; —but the other out of love.——What then? Notwithſtanding, every way, whether in Pretence, or in Truth,* Chriſt *is preach'd;*

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and I therein do rejoice, yea and will rejoice. Now what's judg'd lawful in *Religion*, and by an Apoſtle too, may, I think, with a very good Grace be admitted in *Politicks*. After all, I am the fartheſt imaginable from being an Advocate for any diſaffected Perſons. The Government is under no Obligation to indulge Men continuing in oppoſition to it; nor ſhould thoſe, who are reſolv'd upon adhering to the late King, think upon abuſing the Lenity of the preſent, if the Immortal BRUTUS ſpar'd not his own Sons, when they were found plotting the Reſtoration of the *Abdicated* Tyrant.

3. Another thing I am ſorry to hear out of a great many peoples Mouths, is, that we have not Vertue enough to agree upon any tolerable Model of training our MILITIA, and that it's almoſt impoſſible we ſhould ever recover our former Reputation of Valour. But this Argument is nothing the leſs weak for being ſo common; and the true Intent of ſuch as always cry none but good Men can make good Laws, is (beſides affronting others) to place all Power in the hands of their own Party, who with them are the only good Men.

'Tis

'Tis Government or Education makes all the Difference among Nations as to Military and Civil Diſcipline, foreign Commerce, domeſtick Oeconomy, or the like. Upon the firſt Diſcovery of this Iſland by the *Romans*, its Inhabitants were found as ſavage as we know the *Americans* to be now. The Climate of *Rome* is ſtill the ſame, the Bodies of its Citizens, and the Diſtances of other Places remain the ſame; yet they have wholly loſt the Secret of conquering the World, and are become as poor and mean ſpirited as their Anceſtors were gallant and brave: for the latter were free, and the former are ignorant Slaves. To come nearer home, all the Pains imaginable have been taken for a conſiderable ſpace to render our ſelves luxurious and illiterate, the better to diſpoſe us to favour the tyrannical Deſigns of our late Kings; but have we not ſo retriev'd our Credit in *Europe* under the Adminiſtration of his preſent Majeſty, as if we had voluntarily ſuffer'd it to be eclips'd a while, that it might ſhine the brighter ever after? And to apply this more particularly ſtill, I readily own that the MILITIA, as now regulated, is burdenſom and uſeleſs; but it follows not

not that all are neceſſarily ſo, the contrary being plain from the Hiſtories of every Age as well as from preſent Experience. And before I have done I ſhall give a Demonſtration that the Frame of our Militia could not be more ſucceſsfully contriv'd to render it the Object of the Peoples Contempt and Averſion, with a Deſign to create in them a good Opinion of Mercenaries, and to make 'em believe a neceſſity of always keeping up a Standing Force of ſuch. In a word, when our Men are better train'd, they will not make ſuch a ridiculous Figure under their Arms; and when the Charge is leſs felt or laid out to better purpoſe, it will be more cheerfully paid.

4. But we are ſtill encompaſs'd with many Dangers. It's ſaid that thoſe Souldiers who have ſo bravely fought for ours and the Liberties of *Europe*, declare it is not from any private Intereſt of their own, but out of regard to our future Safety, they deſir'd to be kept on foot; and that in Honour we ought not to diſcharge Men who ſuffer'd ſo much for our ſakes. We are to blame indeed if we don't ſufficiently provide for our own Security; but as to the Soul-

Souldier's Merits, I anſwer firſt, that their paſt Service is duly acknowledg'd, and order'd to be rewarded. Secondly, That ſuch as never ſaw our Enemies, are more clamorous than thoſe who beat them. And, Thirdly, That this unreaſonable Demand was not made by the Body of the common Souldiers, who are generally deſirous of returning home to their Wives, or their Relations, or their Callings; and more particularly at this time, becauſe that hitherto they have known nothing but the Danger, Want, or Fatigue of the War; whereas, once taſting the Pleaſures of Idleneſs and Eaſe, they will every day become leſs willing to disband. And now the Queſtion all this while ought not to have been, whether theſe Gentlemen mean what they ſay, or only pretend it; but what's moſt for the Advantage of the Nation. This was the Motive of raiſing them, and ſhould be that of eſtabliſhing or laying them aſide. War being their Trade, 'tis no wonder if they be always for continuing it; nor can it ever happen to be otherwiſe, ſhould they be wholly left to themſelves, no more than any other Perſons, without the Intervention of the Civil Authority,

thority, would reform the Abuſes of their own Profeſſions. But the *Parliament* has now put an end to this Diſpute; and, to the great Satisfaction of all good Men, granted to his Majeſty a ſufficient *Guard* both for the Honour and Safety of his Perſon, with a competent Number beſides to ſecure ſome important Places till the New MILITIA is regulated, which, I hope, in a little time may be happily effected. In the following Model Proviſion is made for ſeveral hundreds of the disbanded Army, and I dare ſay the Change propos'd in their Condition will give moſt of 'em Satisfaction; tho, by the way, they ought to be content, ſhould the *Parliament* proceed no further to gratify them than they have already reſolv'd. The moſt ſtupid Souldier knows very well an Army has nothing in it ſo charming that could induce the Nation to raiſe one, but upon ſome preſſing Neceſſity, and not to keep 'em up perpetually; nor can the Service perform'd be ever ſo great, as not to be requited under ſuch a Return. I cannot determin whether it would occaſion more Indignation or Mirth to hear a Man contending, that becauſe the Souldiers defend-

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ed our Liberty at the publick Charge for nine Years againſt the *French*, we can do no leſs than become their Slaves for ever. This Paradox is too groſs for any to maintain, or perhaps to intend; yet every conſidering and indifferent Perſon muſt perceive the Conſequence to be true. I ſhall therefore, to avoid the Labour of proving what is ſelf-evident, put you only in mind of the Gentleman, who, having engag'd the Maid to ſpeak a good Word for him to her Miſtriſs, would needs when the Lady conſented quit her, and marry the Maid, out of pure Gratitude for the pains ſhe had taken on his behalf.

5. But the Honour and Safety of the Nation is the commendable Deſign of all ſides; wherein they are certainly in the right, ſince all Countries muſt have ſome Force to defend them againſt foreign Invaſions and domeſtick Tumults: for as it was their own Good and Security which occaſion'd Men firſt to quit the State of Nature, and to aſſociate themſelves into Governments; ſo the Raiſing and Regulation of their Forces muſt be directed and accommodated to the ſame ends. An Iſland is beſt ſituated for Preſervation, as having need of

of little other Force, either to infeſt foreign Coaſts, or to protect its own, beſides a numerous FLEET which it can never want. But if it be likewiſe a Government for Encreaſe, ſuch as ours, its Situation naturally leading it to Trade and planting of Colonies; and if it has the noble Ambition of holding the Balance ſteddy between other Governments, of ſuccouring the Diſtreſs'd, and grudging Liberty to none, then it muſt be always provided with a conſiderable *Land-Force.* Of this there's no Diſpute. Then the only Queſtion is, Whether it be ſafeſt to truſt Arms continually in the hands of ignorant, idle, and needy Perſons; or, only when there's occaſion for it, in the hands of ſober, induſtrious, and underſtanding Freemen. That the latter can never be dangerous to our Liberty and Property at home, and will be infinitely more effectual againſt an Enemy attacking, or invaded by us, I am now going to prove; and at the ſame time to deliver an intelligible and practicable MODEL of diſciplining and maintaining ſuch a Force with very little Charge, and no Trouble at all. My Method ſhall be to lay down a few *Propoſitions,* and thoſe

very ſhort, to each of which I ſubjoin a *Diſcourſe* confirming or explaining it, and containing what other Remarks might be naturally made in that Place. But I am ſo far from writing all I have read or obſerv'd upon this Subject, that I ſhall omit ſeveral uſeful things wherein the World ſeems to be already well ſatisfy'd, or that are not abſolutely eſſential to my purpoſe. As I expect the common Fate of all Writers, that ſome probably out of Ignorance or Malice, and others, perhaps, from ſubſtantial Reaſons may except againſt my Performance; ſo I deſire (as in Juſtice I am bound) that all real Imperfections, or whatever the Injudicious and Envious may miſtake for ſuch, be wholly laid at my own door, and not charg'd upon the Subject, which ought not to ſuffer under the Diſadvantage of unſkilful Management.

6. Now my Firſt Propoſition ſhall be, THAT *ENGLAND* CONSISTING OF FREEMEN AND SERVANTS, NONE BE CAPABLE OF SERVING IN THE MILITIA BUT THE FORMER. By FREEMEN I underſtand Men of Property, or Perſons that are able to live of themſelves; and thoſe who cannot ſubſiſt in this Independence

pendence I call SERVANTS. The bare Explication of the Terms ſhould, one would think, be ſufficient to perſwade any Man of Senſe that the former ſhould not only be ſooner truſted with Arms than the latter; but that they muſt needs uſe 'em likewiſe to better purpoſe. For beſides that all the Endowments which Nature has made common to both are improv'd in FREEMEN, the very Temper of their Bodies being much ſtronger and livelier by better feeding, which is no little Ingredient to Courage, they fight alſo for their Liberty and Property; whereas the other have nothing to loſe but their Lives, which are likewiſe infinitely dearer to thoſe whoſe Circumſtances render 'em more agreeable and eaſy. The *Romans*, who underſtood the Art of War beyond all the World, did not make SOLDIERY a Refuge to Poverty and Idleneſs; for none but Men of Fortune and Property, whoſe private Intereſt firmly engag'd them to the Publick Good, had the Honour of ſerving in their Armies. Nay, ſo far were they from employing the poor and ſervile ſort, that unleſs a Man was worth a certain Sum appointed by Law, he was

excluded from military Duties, which in that Government was thought no reputable Privilege. All that enjoy'd not the Property assign'd they partly call'd * POLMEN, as being return'd for nothing but their Heads in the publick Taxation; and partly † BREEDERS, as being no other way useful to *Rome*, but by encreasing the Number of its Citizens. ‖ *Seeing a Man's real or personal Estate*, says *AULUS GELLIUS*, *are a sure Pledg and Hostage for his Fidelity to the Government, and that these Enjoyments seem to be the ground of one's Love to his Country, therefore neither the* BREEDERS *nor the* POLMEN *were listed as Souldiers, but in case of extraordinary Tumults or Insurrections.* But they were arm'd upon those Occasions by the

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* Capitecensi (à Capitis censione) vocabantur qui nullo aut perquam parvo ære censebantur. *A. Gellius, l.* 16. *c.* 10.

† Proletarii, à munere officioque prolis edendæ appellati sunt. *Id. ibid.*

‖ Quoniam res pecuniaque familiaris obsidis vicem pignorisque esse apud Rempublicam videbantur; amorisque in patriam fides quædam in ea firmamentumque erat; neque Proletarii neque Capitecensi, Milites, nisi in tumultu maximo, scribebantur. *Id. ibid.*

the * Publick, and rather employ'd in keeping watch and ward at home, than led into the Field againſt the Enemy. We find that all thoſe who aſpir'd at Tyranny or any unlimited Power above the Laws, as † *MARIUS* for example, did conſtantly make Leviesof the poorer ſort, putting Arms into the hands of thoſe that had no ſtake to loſe, and who for that Reaſon would be ſure not to deſign the Good of the Commonwealth, but only his Profit that employ'd them: nor will they be more faithful to the latter than to the Government when any other makes them a more advantageous Offer. Now, all this is natural enough, and ſhould not ſurprize any body: for the ſame Reaſon that prevails with the *Rich* to fight for that Government, whoſe excellent Conſtitution ſecures his Property to him, moves the *Indigent* to ſerve againſt it; and that is

* Armaque iis ſumptu publico præbebantur. *Id. ibid.*
Proletarius publicitus ſcutiſque feroque
Ornatur ferro, Muros, Urbemque, Forumque,
Excubiis curat. *Ennius.*

† Ipſe (Marius) milites ſcribere non more majorum neque ex claſſibus, ſed uti libido cujuſque erat, Capitecenſos pleroſque; —— Quod ab eo genere celebratus auctuſque erat: & homini potentiam quærenti egentiſſimus quiſque opportuniſſimus. *Saluſt. in Bello Jugurt.*

to make both their Lives more eaſy; whence it may be concluded that Citizens will always appear for Liberty, and Servants fight for Bread. 'Tis well known, that all the World over, whereever the Sword is in the hands of the *People*, it is a free Government be it of one or of many; and on the contrary, all Tyrannies are ſupported by *Mercenaries:* nor is there any thing peculiar in our Soil, our Air, or in our Perſons to hinder the ſame Circumſtances from producing the like Effects. It is likewiſe to be conſider'd, that all Wars carri'd on by FREEMEN are ſuddenly finiſh'd, becauſe, not being inſtigated by Want or the deſire of Rapine, they are ever longing to return home to reap the Pleaſure of their own Poſſeſſions, together with the agreeable Society of their Families, Relations, and Friends. But all Wars manag'd by MERCENARIES prove extremely tedious and burdenſom, for they never end till the Country that employs them be exhauſted of all its Treaſure, which is their ſole Motive of making Peace. It ought to be alſo remark'd, that a MILITIA of *Freeholders* is not only harder to be conquer'd than that of *Servants* or *Mercenaries*,

xenaries, but muſt be even ſuperior to an Army wholly compos'd of *Gentlemen* under an Arbitrary Monarch: for the latter, notwithſtanding their Honors and Privileges, are not abſolutely free, but retain'd on the behalf of Tyranny; whereas Men of Property being all diſciplin'd (as we propoſe) and having Arms in their hands for the Defence of *Liberty*, upon which from their Infancy they are taught to value themſelves, and to prefer it to all other Conditions (Life, Riches, and Honors without it being not only precarious, but of no other uſe except to prolong a miſerable and infamous *Slavery*;) FREEMEN, I ſay, thus train'd, excel all others in Greatneſs of Soul and Courage: Nor are their haughty Spirits ever to be ſubdu'd, eſpecially when they conſider they are fighting for their own, and not otherwiſe employ'd for their Fellows than theſe are for them, their common Endeavours being to ſecure every Man's private Property. Such a Conſtitution, where all Perſons are equally educated in Civil and Military Diſcipline, was never conquer'd by any Standing Armies, unleſs previouſly weaken'd by ſome inteſtine Diviſions.

On the other hand, of two Free Governments 'tis poſſible indeed for the greateſt to overcome the leaſt; but then we find (to uſe the Words of a moſt obſerving Man) that the Walls and Towers of ſuch a Government become its Funeral Piles, and that it expires in its own Flames, leaving nothing to the Conqueror but its Aſhes; witneſs *Saguntum* when maſter'd by *Carthage*, and *Numantia* by *Rome*. I need not longer inſiſt upon this Matter, and therefore ſhall remark in the laſt place, that whenever any free Empire degenerated into Tyranny, as that of *Rome* is known to have done, then Men of Property were not enjoin'd or encourag'd to ſerve themſelves, but either permitted to find others that would go out in their room, or to pay down ſo much ready Money; upon which occaſion ſays one, ſpeaking of the *Romans*, * *They ſent thoſe to defend them in the Field, whom they would ſcorn to admit into their domeſtick Service.* Indeed ſome of the Emperors perceiv'd this Error, and endeavor'd to correct it, but in vain, ſince at the ſame time

* Taleſque ſociantur armis, quales Domini habere faſtidiunt. *Vegetius*, *l.* 1. *c.* 7.

time they resolv'd to continue arbitrary. But however the following Order was publish'd by GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN, and THEODOSIUS: * *We decree*, say they, *that in our best Troops there be no Slave enroll'd, nor any Servants out of Houses of Entertainment, nor any from Places of infamous resort, nor out of Eating-houses, the Houses of Correction, or other such infamous Fellows.* Yet we are so far from observing this Rule of listing FREEMEN only, that in the † Act now in force for regulating our MILITIA, no Man is oblig'd to serve in Person, but may send whom he pleases to appear for him, tho never so poor and weak, or ignorant of the use of Arms, and all other Arts.

7. Thus far have I discours'd of the Persons who are to constitute our MILITIA, and now I come to the Method of *training* them; after which I shall orderly

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* Inter optimas lectissimorum militum turmas, neminem è numero servorum dandum esse decernimus, nevè ex Caupona ductum, vel ex famosarum ministris tabernarum, aut ex cocorum aut pistorum numero, vel etiam eo quem obsequii deformitas Militia secernit, nec tracta de Ergastulis nomina. *Cod. Theodos.* l. 7. tit. 13.

† 14 Car. 2. §. 25.

orderly proceed to their Number, Charge, Age, and other neceſſary Conſiderations. My Second Propoſition therefore is, THAT ONE AFTERNOON EVERY WEEK THERE BE A PAROCHIAL EXERCISE OF ALL MALES, AS WELL SERVANTS AS FREEMEN, FROM 16 TO 40 YEARS OF AGE. Whether this be done on Mondays, or Thurſdays, or Saturdays, is indifferent; and I muſt not forget that the *Switzers* think no Day ſo proper for it as SUNDAY, from the following Reaſons, *viz.* Firſt, becauſe no other Buſineſs is interrupted by the Exerciſe propos'd, all Labor being already prohibited on that Day; ſo that Servants and their Maſters have equal Leiſure, none are hinder'd from going to Fairs or Markets, nor any Meetings or Bargains interrupted. Secondly, There needs not a more frequent repetition of the Parochial Exerciſe, no Mercenary Souldiers in the World (whatever is boaſted of their Diſcipline) being train'd near ſo many Days in the Year, tho no Duty be perform'd in foul Weather. And thirdly, becauſe after the Publick Service of GOD is over, People are thus reſtrain'd from idle Santring or immoral Courſes, and employ'd,

ploy'd, as the *Switzers* think, in the next Work moſt becoming good Men, the publick ſervice of their COUNTRY. But I preſcribe no time, all that I aim at being to have as many Days in the Year appointed as will be ſufficient, and alſo convenient. Every Saturday then, or Sunday in the Afternoon (for ſo I may ſuppoſe) all the Men of every Pariſh are to aſſemble on ſome Green or Plain, it may be where the *Buts* were of old, and inſtead of Tipling, Gaming, and other Diverſions equally pernicious to their Minds and Bodies, they learn the uſe of Arms; wherein, as we ſee by Experience, they will be imitated by the very Children, who by that time their Age obliges them to appear in the ſame place, will be ſuperior to their Fathers, and need ſo little Exhortation, that they cannot be prevented from acquiring this Art. To this publick Meeting will all the ſuperannuated and experienc'd Men, all the marri'd and ſingle Women reſort, and create in thoſe that are to exerciſe a noble Emulation of excelling one another in Agility or Skill, as every one is diſpos'd to merit the Affection or Applauſe of the Spectators. This weekly Exerciſe

ciſe will not only be to all People a grateful Paſtime, and relaxation from their ordinary Labor or Buſneſs, but alſo greatly influence their very Conſtitutions, by rendring them more robuſt, nimble, healthy, and accuſtom'd to all manner of Fatigue. When 'tis once ſettl'd, we can eaſily imagin how it may be perpetuated: But to effect the former, we have now a happy Occaſion put into our hands of rewarding no ſmall number of thoſe Perſons who have been imploy'd in our Service abroad theſe ſeveral Years paſt: For let all the *Serjeants* of the disbanded Army, and, if their Number be not ſufficient, ſeveral of the *Corporals* or other expert Souldiers, be diſtributed one a piece over all the Pariſhes of *England*, and enjoy half Pay, or what the *Parliament* ſhall judg more convenient for one Year; during which time they ſhall be oblig'd to diſcipline the People on the Days and Place appointed. And for their further Encouragement, let it be provided alſo that they may have free Licence to follow what lawful Callings they pleaſe in that Country or Town during their Lives. Thus King CHARLES the Firſt, when he was in the good Humor

mor of iſſuing out a Proclamation * *to inſtruct and exerciſe the Train'd Bands, as well Officers as Soldiers, by Men experienc'd in Military Exerciſes*, order'd *that divers Low-Country Soldiers ſhould be aſſign'd to the ſeveral Counties for this end.* But how this good Deſign was put in execution every one knows; nor are we more ignorant how the MILITIA was render'd uſeleſs under his Succeſſor, when it was enacted that ſingle Companies ſhould be exercis'd but † four times a Year; and this Exerciſe not to continue above two Days at a time, whereby they were likely to prove glorious Soldiers. Now, it is plain that all the People of *England* may be *parochially* exercis'd in the Uſe of Arms one Afternoon in every Week throughout the Year (unleſs prevented by bad Weather) without any Expence but the pay of one Man for the firſt Year only; and without any trouble at all, but on the contrary, to the great Satisfaction and Recreation of the People. Here it may be objected, that this ſecond Propoſition of Exerciſing all with-

* Ruſhworth's *Collect. Vol.* 1. *Pag.* 197.
† 14 Car. 2. §. 21.

without any diſtinction, ſeems to contradict the firſt, which ordains that only Men of Property be of the MILITIA. To this I anſwer, that there is a vaſt difference between training all to Arms, and having every body of the Army. I am ſtill of the ſame Opinion, that none but FREEMEN be of the MILITIA; and yet I am for training the *Poor* and *Servants*. Firſt, there's no trouble in doing it, they being to appear with their Landlords or Maſters; and tho they belong not to the Number of the Companies, yet they may well be exercis'd in them. Neither is there any danger in it, ſeeing their Arms are only deliver'd to them on thoſe publick Days by the *Overſeers* in whoſe cuſtody they are all the Week; for I ſuppoſe a little *Armory* in every Pariſh. Beſides, the FREEMEN are always arm'd themſelves, and ready to ſuppreſs the others upon the leaſt appearance of Diſorder. Thus every Perſon in the Kingdom becomes a Soldier; for tho a Servant changes his County, his Maſter, his Work, or Treatment, yet wherever he comes there he's train'd, and has no exemtion from Exerciſe. The Deſign of this is three-

fold;

fold; First, becauſe when the POOR and SERVANTS become FREEMEN themſelves (as, thanks to our *Liberty*, it happens every day) they may not be ignorant of Military Duties. Secondly, That if the Nation is not diſpos'd to ſend part of their MILITIA upon any Foreign Expedition, their *Voluntiers* may not be raw undiſciplin'd Fellows, but ready train'd to their hands; nor any thing wanting but to appoint 'em Officers, and to diſtribute 'em into Regiments. Thirdly, Upon any ſudden Invaſion from abroad, or in caſe of ſome Domeſtick Inſurrection, they may be added as AUXILIARIES to the MILITIA (by which name I ſhall always deſign them hereafter) and be appointed either to ſerve in the Field, or to keep in Gariſons, as ſhall be judg'd moſt expedient in ſuch Circumſtances. The *Romans* made uſe of 'em upon all theſe Occaſions, and call'd 'em * *Subitaneous Souldiers*, or a *Tumultuary Army*, from the ſudden and tumultuary manner or cauſe of raiſing them. The *Parochial Aſſemblies* to treat of Civil or Military Affairs, are anſwerable to

* Subitarii Milites, exercitus tumultuarius.

to the COMITIA CURIATA of Antient *Rome*; and, by the way, ſeeing ſome Pariſhes may be very thinly inhabited, let every ſuch be join'd to the neareſt, and both be reputed as one.

8. Having thus laid the Foundation of all *Diſcipline* in the Pariſhes, my Third Propoſition is, THAT THE FORCES OF EVERY HUNDRED ASSEMBLE AT THE CAPITAL THEREOF FOUR TIMES A YEAR, BOTH FOR PUBLICK EXERCISE, AND TO DISPUTE GAMES AND PRIZES. Theſe Meetings anſwer in ſome ſort the COMITIA CENTURIATA of the *Romans*, wherefore I ſhall make bold to call them *Centuriate Aſſemblies*; for our *Hundred*, *Cantred*, or *Wapentake*, is term'd *Centuria* by the politeſt Hiſtorians that wrote of our Affairs in Latin. It is then eaſily underſtood, that in thoſe *Centuriate Aſſemblies* the People meet not to learn the bare handling of their Weapons, that being already perform'd in the *Parochial Exerciſes*; but to ſhew their Expetience, and the Progreſs they have made at home. Here alſo they are form'd into greater Bodies, and taught all that is peculiar to ſuch, or different from their Duty in ſingle Companies.

panies. As for the *Games* and *Prizes*, all wiſe Nations have inſtituted the like, ſometimes for promoting of Trade, or only for breeding good Horſes; but generally to educate their People in the love and practice of Arms, or other Exerciſes tending to fit and diſpoſe 'em to a Martial Genius, ſuch as Racing, Fencing, Wreſtling, throwing the Bar, or the like; of which you may find various Examples in the Governments of Antient *Greece* and *Italy*. Let the *Prizes* in themſelves be never ſo inconſiderable, yet once that Honor and Reputation are annex'd to them, Men will as eagerly contend for 'em, as if they were the higheſt Lucre in the World. It has been obſerv'd in all Ages, that nothing is ſo effectual to make one undertake or quit any Enterprize, as the *Commendation* or *Diſgrace* attending it; yet theſe have fail'd ſometimes, but a proſpect of *Gain* ſeldom or never. Now our PRIZES are not without their Profit, as well as Uſe and Delight; for, beſides the real Value of what is got, the Winner likewiſe ſtands faireſt for Preferment, where Places are diſpos'd according to Merit. As for the

Charge of thoſe GAMES it may be made very eaſy, an Annual Revenue being eſtabliſh'd for that purpoſe. 'Tis ſo much the Intereſt of the *Hundreds* to concur in it, that rather than it ſhould not be done, the Capital Town, where the Meeting is to be, will gladly raiſe the Sum in conſideration of the brisk Trade it muſt occaſion at thoſe times: But all ſuch Expences ought to be collected from the Inhabitants according to their real or perſonal Eſtates. And they'l contribute to no Tax, tho never ſo neceſſary, ſo willingly as to this; becauſe in the firſt place it is not beſtow'd, as the beſt part of ſome other Revenues, on Men of no Merit: Secondly, becauſe it is not carri'd out of the Country: And thirdly, becauſe every Man has his lucky Hit for the PRIZE to fall to his own ſhare. Now, 'tis all one wherein the PRIZE conſiſts, whether it be a Silver Chain, a Medal, or any ſort of Plate; for the Diſputes in other Places were not leſs eager to obtain Garlands of Oak or Laurel. But the moſt proper, in my Opinion, are ſome good and beautiful *Arms*; for the Conqueror, and his Heir after him, will

will be as loth to part with them in Fight, as proud of wearing them in time of Peace. And this is indiſputably more natural, and will prove far more effectual than the Policy of JULIUS CESAR, who us'd to adorn the Arms of his Men with Gold, Silver, and Gems, that they might the leſs tamely quit ſuch precious things to the Enemy. There muſt be alſo a proportionable difference between the PRIZES, the ſame neither in Kind nor Value belonging to the Horſe and Foot, or to him that hits the Mark in ſhooting, and to another that wins at ſome other Game; for I would have them of all uſeful ſorts, and a Field-piece likewiſe in every *Hundred* to breed expert Gunners, with Magazines of Powder, Bullets, and all other requiſite Ammunition in every *County*. Laſtly, I would have it ordain'd that he who at theſe GAMES has got one PRIZE, ſhould not be permitted to ſtand for any other at that time; and that the Names of all the Winners be carefully regiſter'd, as well out of regard to the Reputation of particular Perſons, as that the Publick may know where to find able Men in

time of need. What a Change this Inſtitution will beget in all the Kingdom; what Trade it will occaſion in the Country; and what Emulation between the Inhabitants of every *Hundred* (to ſpeak nothing of the principal Deſign) can ſcarcely be imagin'd by ſuch as have never experienc'd any thing like it; and yet there's nothing new or notional in all this, the ſame having been ſucceſsfully practis'd either wholly or partly in many other Places of the World. I ſhall add no more of the *Hundreds*, but that every *City* being a County of it ſelf, and other populous *Corporations*, may hold their *Centuriate Aſſemblies* within their own Precincts, and be not oblig'd to any Exerciſe abroad, except the *Annual Encampment*, whereof I am now going to treat.

9. Tho it be of the higheſt Importance to have all Perſons in our Nation *parochially* exercis'd, and accuſtom'd in the *Hundreds* to muſter in larger Bodies; yet they may be ſtill ignorant of the Diſcipline of a compleat *Army*, to which all they have hitherto done is only ſubſervient, as we firſt learn the Names of the Letters, and then to join them into Sylla-

Syllables, in order to read and understand a Book. My Fourth Propoſition is therefore, THAT *ENGLAND* BE DIVIDED INTO THREE EQUAL DISTRICTS, CALL'D THE NORTHERN, MIDDLE, AND WESTERN CLASSES; AND THAT THE STANDING MILITIA OF THE WHOLE CONSISTING OF SIXTY THOUSAND MEN, TWENTY THOUSAND THEREOF DO ANNUALLY ENCAMP FOR THE SPACE OF THREE WEEKS IN SOME ONE OF THE CLASSES; AND SO TO SUCCEED BY TRIENNIAL ROTATION, WHICH RULE IS ALSO TO BE OBSERV'D IN THE COUNTIES PROPORTIONABLY. This military Diviſion of the whole Kingdom may be as eaſily imagin'd or perform'd, as the Circuits appointed for diſtributing of Juſtice. Nor is there any Difficulty in apprehending the *Triennial Rotation*; Suppoſe, for example, that in the Month of *July*, 1698, the twenty thouſand Men, which is the Portion of the Weſtern *Claſs*, encamp ſomewhere in *Cornwal*, thoſe of the middle *Claſs* in *July*,

1699, at any Place in *Hartfordſhire*, and thoſe of the Northern *Claſs* in *July*, 1700, in ſome part of *Yorkſhire:* Then you return again in *July*, 1701, to *Devonſhire*, the Year after to *Surrey*, the ſixth Year to *Cumberland*, and ſo perpetually round. The *Rotation* in the *Counties*, or changing the Place of Encampment, is grounded upon the cleareſt Equity; for if the CAMP proves a Trouble (as 'tis impoſſible it ſhould) to the County where it is, then Juſtice requires that all ſhould bear their ſhare of it: And if on the contrary it be highly profitable by the vaſt Trade it muſt occaſion in the Conſumption of Proviſions, or otherwiſe; and conſidering too that ready Money will be paid for every thing, then 'tis as reaſonable that all ſhould enjoy the Benefit in their turns. As for the Order to be obſerv'd, to take away all occaſions of Diſpute, there needs no more but to caſt Lots at the beginning in every *Claſs*, to know what County ſhall be the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſo on. But if an Objection ſhould be rais'd by any againſt the Number of the *Claſſes*, from the Largeneſs of their Bounds, and conſequently the great

Diſtance

Diſtance in many Parts from the Place of Encampment; I anſwer, that 'tis not the preciſe Number, but the Diſtribution for which I contend: for the Kingdom may as well be divided into ſix *Claſſes*, each containing 10000 of the MILITIA, and annual CAMPS in any two of 'em at a time. Thus ſtill the *Triennial Rotation* remains the ſame, and we have every Year 20000 Men (beſides the *London-Militia*) encamp'd ſomewhere in the Kingdom, to the great Terror of all our Enemies, and to our own unſpeakable Advantage and Reputation; we have an Army of ſixty thouſand FREEMEN to defend the whole Nation, and yet every part of it always provided with a ſufficient Number, either abſolutely to defend themſelves, or to ſtop any Enemy till our whole Forces draw together. But then this wheeling Number of ſixty Thouſand is very inconſiderable, in compariſon of many thouſand FREEMEN more, that are always ready to relieve, to repair, to ſucceed, or to join them upon occaſion; to ſpeak nothing of thoſe *exempted from Duty*, nor of the *poor* and *ſervile*; all which Orders of

Men are not only well diſciplin'd, but oblig'd alſo to ſerve upon uncommon Emergencies. But to return to our CAMP, there our MILITIA learns the higheſt Perfection of Diſcipline, and is taught to make regular Sieges and Attacks in all Forms, to ſtorm Caſtles, to fight Battles, to gain advantageous Poſts, to make honorable Retreats, to intrench themſelves, to forage, decamp, and, in one word, to perform all the other Duties of an *Army*. Now, beſides the Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of all theſe Exerciſes, they will be extraordinary entertaining too. The whole Country round will come to divert themſelves in this Place, and paſs that Seaſon the moſt agreeably of all the Year. It would be a ſuperfluous Labor to ſpend more Words in Commendation of this part of our MODEL; and ſo I come to make one Remark concerning the Expences, after taking notice that the yearly general Exerciſe, preſcrib'd by the Act for regulating our MILITIA, yet in force, is to continue but only the ſpace of * four Days.

The

* 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 21.

The *Aſſeſſments* laid by this ſame Act are ſo grievous as well as uſeleſs, that a long Experience, and the general Outcry againſt them, ſpare me the pains of ſhewing their Defects; nor will I for the ſame Reaſons make any ſtop at the Abuſe of calling People ſo often from their Buſineſs, for no other end but to fill the *Muſter-maſter's* Pockets; neither will I inſiſt upon the intolerable Grievance of *Trophy-money*; all thoſe things, as I ſaid before, being ſo univerſally known, that every body can preſcribe a proper Remedy. I propos'd three Weeks (and I ſtill think it time enough) for the *Annual Encampment*, *viz.* a Fortnight for actual Service, and the other eight days, upon the ſuppoſition of three *Claſſes*, for coming and going; and fewer will do, if the *Claſſes* be ſix in Number. But ſuppoſe another Week be added, then 'tis plain that the Charge of a hundred and twenty thouſand Men during one Month, is no more than the Pay of ten Thouſand for a Year; whence every body may infer how much cheaper we may entertain [illegible] thouſand FREEMEN for a Fortnight or three Weeks, than ten thouſand

ſand MERCENARIES for a Twelve-month, making all reaſonable Allowance in the Difference of their Pay. The Expence in our MODEL then is both laid out to much better purpoſe, and made a great deal eaſier than any of this nature heretofore. Nay the very *Rotation* ſhould recommend it ſelf to all Mens Approbation, ſeeing it comes with reſpect to the *Charge* but every third Year to the turn of each *County*, and as to the *Duty* much ſeldomer to particular Perſons; whereas the *Rotation* of the *Jews* was monthly, and took in the whole People in a Year: They had 24000 Men under Arms every Month, and I don't propoſe twenty thouſand for one Month in twelve. But the *Jewiſh* MILITIA kept Guards and Gariſons too; *Now the Children of* Iſrael *after their Names*, (ſays the Author of the firſt Book of their Chronicles) *the chief Fathers, and the Captains of Thouſands and Hundreds, and their Officers that ſerv'd the King in any Matter of the Courſes, which came in and went out Month by Month throughout all the Months of the Year, of every Courſe were twenty and four thouſand.* There needs no

no more to be ſaid on this Head, only that the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, with their Suburbs and Liberties, together with the Borough of *Southwark*, are not to be comprehended within any of the *Claſſes*, but to have their own CAMP annually in ſome convenient Place adjacent.

10. So far of the Perſons qualified to ſerve in the MILITIA, and the ſeveral degrees of *training* them: Now we ſhall ſpeak of their AGE; for altho this Particular is generally neglected in *Mercenary* Armies, yet it has been ever carefully conſider'd in all *free* Governments: becauſe the Deſign of theſe being to render the People happy, they impartially aſſign Labor and Eaſe to thoſe Periods of Life to which they are moſt ſutable. Then my Fifth Propoſition is, THAT EVERY FREEMAN, WHEN HIS TURN COMES, BE OBLIG'D TO PERSONAL SERVICE IN THE MILITIA FROM THE EIGHTEENTH TO THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF HIS AGE; AND THAT ALL ABOVE OR UNDER THESE YEARS BE EXEMPTED FROM THE SERVICE, THO NOT

FROM

FROM THE CHARGE. The *Romans* oblig'd their Citizens to Arms from the * ſeventeenth to the ſix and fortieth Year of their Age, in which time every Man was to go upon the Service of the Commonwealth, (in caſe of need) if he were of the Horſe ten, or of the Foot † twenty times; and if he was hinder'd by Sickneſs or otherwiſe from compleating this Number, he might be compell'd to do it until he was fifty. But all under ſeventeen or above fifty were abſolutely ‖ excus'd, unleſs upon thoſe extraordinary Occaſions whereof we ſpoke before; and then the *Veterans* and *Emeriti* (for ſo they call'd the ſuperannuated Soldiers) might not only be forc'd to take up Arms, but they ordinarily came in of themſelves when

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* Servius (Rex Pop. Romani) ab anno ſeptimo decimo, quod idoneos jam eſſe Reipublicæ arbitraretur, Milites ſcripſiſſe dicitur à Tuberone Hiſtorico apud A. Gellium (*l.* 10. *c.* 28.) eoſque ad annum quadrageſimum ſextum juniores, ſupraque eum annum ſeniores appellaſſe.

† Τὰς μὲν Ἱππεῖς δέκα, τὰς δὲ πεζὰς εἴκοσι δεῖ στρατείας τελεῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην, ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ἀπογινομένοις. Polyb. de Militia Romana.

‖ Lex à quinquageſimo anno Militem non cogit. *Seneca de Brevitate vitæ, c. ult.*

when their Country was in danger, and by their Valor and Experience did often ſave it from Deſtruction. In like manner, when any General of great Reputation was to go upon ſome glorious Expedition, ſeveral * *Veterans* us'd to offer him their Service voluntarily, which was very acceptable, being moſt uſeful both by their Example to the reſt, and their own perſonal Exploits. . But I expect to be told, that GENTLEMEN will never conſent their Sons ſhould be train'd like *Common Souldiers.* Now it may be eaſily perceiv'd, that this Contemt upon the moſt honorable Profeſſion of *Arms* is purely accidental, and altogether occaſion'd by the *Mercenary Soldiers* abroad, who, excepting ſome Officers and a few Voluntiers, being moſt of 'em the Scum of Mankind, conſiſting of ignorant, brutiſh, mean, beggerly, and idle Fellows, that live only upon a ſcanty Hire, which is ſeldom

* Licinius quoque veteres ſcribebat Milites Centurioneſque, & multi voluntate nomina dabant. *Livius, l.* 42. *c.* 32. Militares homines & ſtipendia juſta, & corpora ætate & aſſiduis laboribus confecta habere; nihil recuſare tamen, quo minus operam Reipublicæ dent. *Id. ibid. c.* 33.

ſeldom punctually paid, they muſt neceſſarily have recourſe to Stealing, Robbing, Plundring, Aſſaſſinating, and the like flagitious Practices; and what's ſtill worſe, the *Arbitrary Princes* who maintain them, muſt e'en let them live upon their ſhifts, by countenancing or conniving at theſe Diſorders: for there's no Remedy unleſs they be duly paid, which is never done except in Free Governments, ſuch as ours and *Holland*. But in a well-regulated MILITIA Gentlemen make their Diſcipline to be properly an Exerciſe or Diverſion in time of Peace; and in War they fight not only to preſerve their own Liberty and Fortunes, but alſo to become the beſt Men in their Country. Nor are they any thing influenc'd by that PAY which the Government juſtly allows them: for as they who ſit quietly at home ſhould bear their Charges who ſerve 'em abroad, and not let thoſe be Loſers in their private Affairs, whoſe Valour provides Security to theirs; ſo on the other hand, when it becomes their turn who are now employ'd to keep at home, they will as cheerfully contribute to maintain thoſe who ſuc-

ceed

ceed 'em abroad, as they receiv'd their PAY before. There is no Weight at all then in the Objection, eſpecially ſince no time is loſt to Young or Old: and that there is none is very evident, for no body will ſay that either Gentlemen or Artizans loſe any time in the *Parochial Exerciſes*; all People allow more time upon their Pleaſures every Year than is ſpent in the *Centuriate Aſſemblies*; and their turn in the CAMP returns ſo ſeldom as to admit of nothing to be ſaid againſt it. After all, if *Gentlemen* will be at the pains of fighting for their own, (and who can doubt but they will?) 'tis ſurely worth their while to learn the Art of doing it; but of this by and by in a more proper Place.

II. The AGE of the Perſons conſtituting our MILITIA being thus determin'd, we proceed next to their COMMANDERS, who make the Subject of the Sixth Propoſition, which is, THAT ALL THE COMMISSION'D OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA HAVE REAL OR PERSONAL ESTATES PROPORTIONABLE TO THEIR SEVERAL DEGREES; AND THAT

THAT ALL PERSONS THUS RIGHTLY QUALIFI'D IN EVERY COUNTY SUCCEED ONE ANOTHER BY TRIENNIAL ROTATION, THE LORDS LIEUTENANTS ONLY EXCEPTED, WHO, BEING GENERAL OFFICERS, ARE NOT TO BE CHANG'D WHILE THE KING IS PLEAS'D TO CONTINUE 'EM IN THEIR POSTS. The Reaſons for qualifying the OFFICERS by their *Property* are the ſame with thoſe I have offer'd under the firſt Propoſition for admitting FREEMEN only to ſerve in the MILITIA, which ſpares me the Labour of Repetition in this place. As for the *Rotation* of *Officers* propos'd, it is grounded upon unconteſted Experience and Equity. All good Politicians have ever allow'd that to be the beſt and nobleſt Government where Men learn alternately to *command* and to *obey*; becauſe at this rate they are not only fitted to ſerve their Country upon all occaſions, but likewiſe made competent Judges of the Merit or Miſcarriage of others. This was the known Practice of the *Romans*, whoſe *General Officers* were, in the ordinary Courſe of their

their Government, annually elected, no body thinking it a Diſgrace to ſerve under him this Year, whom he had commanded the laſt, nor to be afterwards an inferior Officer in that Army whoſe Exploits were the Effects of his Conduct before. And truly this ſort of *Rotation* ſeems to me a Duty requir'd by the Light of Nature: for keeping an equal Balance between thoſe of the ſame Qualifications contributes above all things to keep 'em in Peace and Friendſhip. If the *Offices* ſhall be thought honorable, pleaſant, or profitable, no body envies another, becauſe they are all to enjoy 'em in their turns: And if on the other hand they ſhould be found a Charge or Trouble, then doubtleſs every one ought to bear his ſhare of the Burden; nor is it at all material, whether they be elected by Lot, or ſucceſſively appointed by the King. The Peers, who are commonly the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, are by this *Model* reſtor'd to all the Privileges that were truly good and excellent in their firſt Inſtitution, the immediate Command of

all the FREEMEN in *England* under the KING being their proper Charge; and the eternal Fame which ſome of their Anceſtors have worthily acquir'd, is wholly owing to the glorious Actions they perform'd in this Quality on the behalf of their Country; and not in the leaſt to that immoderate Power they might then exerciſe over the PEOPLE, who, if they record any *Nobleman* upon this account, do it as an Example they execrate and abhor, and not out of Gratitude or Love, as in the former caſe. To the only Objection I apprehend againſt this Propoſition, which is, that it ſeems to limit his *Majeſty's* Authority, I anſwer, That no Man can truſt him with a greater Power of doing Good (for he would neither accept nor uſe any other) than I am willing to do; ſeeing in the Opinion I entertain of his Juſtice, Valor, and Wiſdom, I believe my ſelf not inferior to any: which Declaration ought to be eſteem'd the more ſincere, inaſmuch as I never had nor expect any particular Favor from him beſides *Liberty* and *Safety*, the

the common Bleſſings of his Government. He knows already that all the *Power* he has is bounded by Laws, and we are convinc'd by Experience that he refuſes no Limitation to it when he judges it to be for the Advantage of the Nation. Thus have the Act for *Triennial Parliaments*, and that of *regulating Trials in caſes of High Treaſon* (to mention no more) paſt by his Authority; whereas no Prince that deſign'd to injure his Subjects, would ever give his Aſſent to either of them. A Perſon of his Sagacity and Prudence will not eaſily be deluded by the mean Obſequiouſneſs of any MINISTERS, who make their Court with gratifying what they take to be their Maſter's *Inclinations*; and, without any regard to his or the Nation's real Intereſt, lay out all their Efforts to gain him ſome *invidious Point*: for it is a ſetl'd Maxim with moſt of this Race, That ALL KINGS WHATSOEVER WOULD BE ABSOLUTE; preſuming on which pernicious Doctrine they bring a certain Ruin on the Affairs of *Princes*, if not happily prevented by

their own timely Fall, which commonly happens in *Free Governments.* But a good KING, instead of lessening his own Power by Concessions of this nature, gains more Security, Respect, and Glory, than could be obtain'd by the most numerous *Armies.* I cannot upon this occasion but relate the remarkable Story of THEOPOMPUS King of *Sparta, who,* as VALERIUS MAXIMUS * writes, *when he first ordain'd that the* EPHORI, *or Overseers, should be created at* Lacedemon, *to be such a Restraint upon the Kings there, as the Tribunes were upon the Consuls at* Rome, *the Queen complain'd to him, that by this means he transmitted the Royal Authority greatly diminish'd to his Children:*

* Cum primus instituisset (Theopompus Spartanorum Rex) ut Ephori Lacedæmone crearentur, ita futuri Regiæ potestati oppositi quemadmodum Romæ Consulari Imperio Tribuni plebis sunt objecti; atque illi uxor dixisset, id egisse illum ut filiis minorem potestatem relinqueret; Relinquam, inquit, sed diuturniorem. Optimè quidem, ea enim demum tuta est potentia, quæ viribus suis modum imponit. Theopompus igitur, legitimis regnum vinculis constringendo, quo longius à Licentia retraxit hoc propius ad benevolentiam Civium admovit. *L.* 4. *c.* 1. *de externis,* §. 8.

dren: I leave it indeed leſs, anſwer'd he, *but more laſting. And this*, adds our Author, *was excellently ſaid; for that Power only is ſafe, which is limited from doing Hurt.* THEOPOMPUS *therefore*, continues he, *by confining the Kingly Power within the Bounds of the Laws, did recommend it by ſo much to the People's Affection as he remov'd it from being Arbitrary.* But, leſt I might ſeem to digreſs, I demand, What Power is taken out of the KING's hand by our Propoſition? For in the preſent *Militia* the Colonels, Majors, Captains, and other Officers are to be appointed by the * Lord Lieutenant; and I would have 'em choſen by his *Majeſty* himſelf, or whom he pleaſes to depute, but only *qualify'd* to ſerve their Prince and Country more effectually: Nor can the Nomination be any where more ſafely lodg'd than in the KING for his Life, provided the Act reſtrains it to Election under his *Succeſſors*, who will enjoy all reaſonable Power, ſince they

* 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 2.

they may appoint or continue the General Officers at their pleasure. And, besides the foregoing Considerations, nothing can render his present *Majesty* more easy than this part of the *Model*, seeing that by it he has an admirable Opportunity of gratifying all Sides, and disobliging none; for if he should put any TORIES in Commission, the WHIGS would presently cry, that he was committing himself solely into their Enemies Hands; and should the WHIGS be the only Persons intrusted, the TORIES would justly continue still disaffected: Whereas on the foot of the *Rotation* propos'd he may fairly employ those of both Parties duly qualify'd to serve their Country. And indeed I may venture to affirm, that this impartial Distribution of *Honor* and *Profit* is the only way possible to heal ours, or the Divisions of any other Government: for such as are not admitted to *Confidence* and *Preferment*, are most of 'em offended upon no other score; and they who are in possession of those *Advantages* will

be

be always for retaining and engroſſing them, either by the Excluſion or abſolute Ruin of their Adverſaries. But as in *War* the KING has equally protected all his Subjects, ſo I hope in *Peace* he'll aboliſh their infamous *Diſtinctions*, and render *England* the Glory and Terror of the World.

12. The moſt excellent *Inſtitution* imaginable cannot be of any conſiderable Duration, unleſs extraordinary Care be taken about the Education of YOUTH, which is ſhamefully neglected in this Age; for very few are at thoſe Pains and Expence in forming the Manners of their own Children, as they freely beſtow to breed up Setting-dogs and Race-horſes, or on things altogether as frivolous and indifferent. The ſad Effects of this Diſorder are viſible enough every where, and were ever carefully prevented in *wiſe Governments*. All *Legiſlators* had a particular regard in their Laws to the breeding of the *Young*, well knowing that ſuch as they were, ſuch the *Government* would prove to be.

What's

What's amiss in this respect among our selves is more easily discover'd, than reform'd. I shall therefore at this time content my self with offering a Remedy in what immediately concerns my Subject, and so the Seventh Proposition of this *Scheme* shall be, THAT ALL NOW UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN YEARS, OR THAT SHALL BE BORN HEREAFTER, BE INCAPABLE OF HOLDING ANY POST OF HONOR OR PROFIT UNDER THE GOVERNMENT (EXCEPTING IN THE PROFESSIONS OF DIVINITY, LAW, AND PHYSICK) UNLESS THEY FIRST QUALIFY THEMSELVES BY SERVING TWO CAMPAIGNS BY LAND OR SEA. By this Proposition none already arriv'd to the complete Age of *Manhood* are excluded from bearing Offices; and they who are now full *Eighteen*, are only kept back till they are Twenty, before which time they could scarcely expect Employment even as Matters now stand. I cannot therefore foresee that any Oppo-

Oppoſition will be made to this part of the *Model*, ſeeing it neither affects them who are actually engag'd in Buſineſs, nor ſuch as ſtand Candidates for Preferment: For the blame of being unqualifi'd, as propos'd, ought to be attributed to a Defect in our *Conſtitution*, and not to any want of *Merit* in particular Perſons. The YOUTH themſelves (if we can imagin 'em ſo baſely diſpos'd) are not in a Condition to obſtruct it; and if it happens to paſs, it becomes as familiar to thoſe who ſhall be born hereafter as the other parts of our Government. There remain then no Adverſaries in all probability, unleſs ſome People ſhould envy the happy Effects of it to their *Country*, which we may better judg impoſſible than SOLON that no *Parricide* could be perpetrated in his Republick, which is the Reaſon that he ordain'd no Puniſhment for this horrid Crime. The moſt unthinking among us muſt perceive that no other Method can be ſo effectual to render our *Country* famous, and our *Government* laſting. When the *Young Men* (of all

others the moſt ambitious of Glory and Honor) are once convinc'd that this is the only Road to Preferment, they will timely qualify themſelves, and ſo all Poſts will be ſuppli'd with Perſons of known Experience. Whoever has read the preceding part of this Piece, cannot miſtake my Senſe about the *Land-Campaigns*; but as to the SEA, he that is two Summers aboard any Man of War in our ordinary Guards, or that goes twice in any Veſſel into the *Baltick*, *Mediterranean*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, and once to any part of the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſhall be deem'd rightly qualifi'd. It ſignifies nothing whether it be in War or Peace; for the principal Deſign is to acquaint 'em with the Nature of this Service ſo important to our Iſland, and to give 'em an opportunity of ſeeing Forein Countries in order to put a true Value upon their own. When one that has thus paſt a part of his time is afterwards a Member of the Houſe of *Lords* or *Commons*, of the *Admiralty* or *Navy*, he muſt needs ſpeak more pertinently, and be leſs eaſily

eaſily deceiv'd in the uſual Diſputes, whether any Miſcarriage is occaſion'd by Treachery or Accident; he can diſcern the Guilt or Merit of the Seamen; he can judg of Victualling, Maning, or otherwiſe fitting out our Ships; and determin the proper Seaſons for every Action far better than another that never was at Sea unleſs in a Ferry-boat to *Calais* or the *Bril*. We know likewiſe by the great Care the KING has taken to ſupply his Ships with able Maſters, and by what we may obſerve in the Accompliſhments of ſeveral Perſons who ſail'd in them, that there is not a properer place of learning moſt part of the *Mathematicks*, there being no doubt to be made about the particular Art of *Navigation*. And to ſpeak no more of the Marine (for to hint theſe things is enough) when *Gentlemen* are ſo long debar'd all their ordinary Land-Exerciſes, they have an excellent opportunity of ſtudying *Geography* or *Aſtronomy*, and maſtering the beſt part of Antient and Modern *Hiſtory*: for they muſt read

ſomething in their own defence againſt *Idleneſs*, the moſt painful Condition in the World; and they may keep Books as conveniently in their Cabins, as in their Studies at home. After a conſiderable number are thus initiated at Sea, while others by Land make the ordinary Tour of *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*; and that ſeveral, perhaps, have travell'd both by Land and Sea, no Government in the World can be ſo well ſuppli'd with Learn'd, Polite, and able Men to fil all ſorts of Stations. The *Romans* did after this manner educate their Children from their very Cradles in the Theory and Practice of thoſe things wherein they were afterwards to make a glorious Figure in the Service of their Country. They, to whom the particular Inſpection of the YOUTH was committed, were not Perſons retir'd, and ſtrangers to Buſineſs; but Men of nice Breeding, and that underſtood Mankind as well as the Liberal Arts and Sciences. They inform'd their Pupils (to whom they were rather Companions

ons than Maſters) in the Duties of grown Age, before they arriv'd to it; and, having no Intereſt to keep 'em more ignorant than themſelves, they did not waſte their time by teaching 'em any barbarous Jargon, trifling Notions, or uſeleſs Speculations, which they muſt unlearn again if they would be underſtood, or not be counted ridiculous when they come abroad into the World. *The Young Men*, ſays * PLINY, *were early accuſtom'd to Arms in the Field, that they might learn by obeying to command, and to act the part of a General while they follow'd one. Aſpiring likewiſe to Civil Dignities, they ſtood by the Door of the Senate Houſe, and were Spectators of the Publick Aſſembly before they were Members of it.* The *Young Gentlemen* alſo us'd to chuſe to themſelves *Patrons* of the moſt eminent Perſons in the City, whoſe great Actions they diligently obſerv'd, and propos'd

* Adoleſcentuli ſtatim Caſtrenſibus ſtipendiis imbuebantur, ut imperare parendo, duces agere dum ſequuntur, aſſueſcerent: Inde Honores petituri aſſiſtebant curiæ foribus, & concilii publici ſpectatores, antequam conſortes erant. *Epiſt.* 14. l. 8.

propos'd not ſo much to imitate, as to exceed them. Every Morning they went to their Levée, and thence accompani'd them to the FORUM and other publick Places, where they patiently bore Hunger, Thirſt, and all manner of Fatigue, that they might attain to the higheſt pitch of *Eloquence*, and be throughly vers'd in *Civil Affairs*. When the Buſineſs of the Day was over, they dutifully waited home upon their Patrons, and theſe again on their part took abundance of care to improve the *Youth*. They were as cautious to give 'em any ill Examples in Words or Action, as to their own Children. They entertain'd them with the greateſt familiarity, and the general Subject of their Diſcourſe was about framing good Laws, and the ſeveral kinds of Government; in their own, they taught 'em wherein conſiſted the * *Magiſtrates Power*, and *the Liberty of the People*; they explain'd the Art of War, and read Divine Lectures

† Quæ Vis magiſtratibus, quæ cæteris Libertas. *Id. ibid.*

tures concerning the Excellency of Vertue; never forgetting to inculcate upon every occaſion the Love of their Country as the Foundation of all their future Actions at Home or Abroad: Nor did the Converſation want facetious and pleaſant Intervals to make it eaſier to both ſides. This was the true Source, not only of that unparallel'd Friendſhip, Valour, Prudence, Juſtice, Eloquence, and Generoſity wherein that braveſt People of the Univerſe excel'd; but even the preeminence of their *Hiſtorians* above all the Modern proceeds from hence: For the *Young Gentlemen* being ſo intimately acquainted with the Actions of their *Patrons*, and writing down their remarkable Sayings, or copying their moſt finiſh'd Compoſitions, they afterwards frequently mention'd or quoted them; ſo that all the beſt and vertuous Examples became commonly known. But of this Subject I ſhall ſpeak more copiouſly in my BRUTUS, or THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY AND TYRANNY which I am now digeſting, with a Deſign, whenever finiſh'd,

finiſh'd, to publiſh it in * *Latin* and *Engliſh*. In this Work I endeavor to copy the People whereof I treat, and will confirm my Subject with the moſt beautiful Paſſages of the Antients, as well as illuſtrate it by Modern Examples, both of the Dead and the Living. As to the latter I ſhall make little mention of the worſe ſort, thinking to diſhonor 'em more by ſilencing their Names, ſhould my Hiſtory laſt to Poſterity, than by relating their infamous Actions; and if my Book miſcarries, they are but in obſcurity ſtill. That the number of extraordinary Men is very ſmall in our Age, we need not deſire a clearer Demonſtration than to find ſo few Hiſtories tolerably pen'd; for 'tis want of Matter, and conſequently of Encouragement, but not of Ability, which makes our Writers ſo much inferior to thoſe of paſt times, when CICERO himſelf courts to be immortaliz'd by the Pen

* *BRUTUS*, ſive Libertatis & Tyrannidis Hiſtoria.

† Pen of LUCCEIUS. PLINY, who liv'd in the decay of the *Roman* Empire and Manners, tells us what Honors were formerly confer'd on thoſe who wrote the Hiſtories of Governments or Great Perſons. ‖ *But in our time*, ſays he, *this Cuſtom, as ſeveral good and exellent things, is quite aboliſh'd; for ſince we left off to do commendable Actions, we think it impertinent to be commended.* This Digreſſion (if any thing that makes for my purpoſe may be ſo cal'd) is intended to excite our *Youth* to purſue Fame by noble and uſeful Performances. TULLY, whoſe Eloquence

† Ardeo cupiditate incredibili, neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut noſtrum ſcriptis illuſtretur, & celebretur tuis. —— Neque enim me ſolum commemorario poſteritatis ad ſpem quandam Immortalitatis rapit: ſed etiam illa cupiditas, ut vel auctoritate teſtimonii tui, vel indicio Benevolentiæ, vel ſuavitate Ingenii, vivi perfruamur. *Epiſt. Famil. l. 5. Ep.* 12.

‖ Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel ſingulorum Laudes vel urbium ſcripſerant, aut Honoribus aut Pecunia ornare: noſtris vero temporibus, ut alia ſpecioſa & egregia, ita hoc in primis exolevit. Nam poſtquam deſiimus facere Laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. *L. 3. Ep.* 21.

quence and Quality of a *Roman* Senator made him an Advocate for Kings, disdains not to acknowledg that he wrote the best part of his incomparable Works to reform * and instruct the *Youth*; which in that declining State of the Commonwealth, was [illegible] corrupted. The two Years [illegible] which I add to their [illegible]es, will not, I hope, [illegible] if in their reading they observe that the *Romans* were to serve ten times to become capable of certain Posts, seven times for others, and four e're they could fill any place almost in the Government.

13. Hitherto the whole Discourse related to our own DEFENCE against Invasions; but sometimes we are oblig'd to transport Armies beyond the Seas, either to ASSERT our own Rights against insolent and treache-

* Quod enim munus Reipublicæ afferre majus meliusne possumus, quam si docemus atque erudimus Juventutem? his præsertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa est, ut omnium opibus refrenanda ac coercenda sit, *&c.* *De Divinatione l.* 2. *c.* 2.

treacherous Enemies, or else to ASSIST our Friends and Allies. That such Occasions may frequently happen, none will go about to deny; yet Multitudes (I'm afraid) will dislike the Methods I would have observ'd in the management of our *Forein Wars*. But my Assertions are not the less solid because some People are Conceited, and others now unaccustom'd to what their Ancestors successfully practis'd heretofore: Nor ought the rest of the *Scheme*, should any reject this part of it, be counted the more weak or inconsistent. So my Eigth Proposition is, THAT THE MAIN BODY OF OUR ARMIES ABROAD BE WHOLLY COMPOS'D OF THE FREE MILITIA, THE ONE HALF TO BE ANNUALLY RELIEV'D BY SUCCESSIVE LEVIES IN THE CLASSES; AND BE ALWAYS CORROBORATED WITH A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF AUXILIARIES. We prov'd before under the First Proposition, that FREEMEN will fight better than

SERVANTS, that all Wars carri'd on by the former are quickly finish'd, that wherever the Sword is in their Hands that Government is free, and that they are consequently disus'd or discourag'd from bearing Arms by such as design to set up a Tyrannical Power. Now, all these Reasons should prevail with us to send our MILITIA of *Citizens* abroad instead of *Mercenaries*. The *Romans* in point of War are the best Example, with respect to Success or Safety, that any Nation can imitate; and while they strictly adher'd to this Rule, they were both invincible themselves, and no People on Earth could resist the Force of their Arms: But when their Antient Orders were neglected or abolish'd, then they became an easy Prey to all that invaded them. Thus the *Eastern* Nations, tho infinitely superior in Numbers and Territories, yet by reason of their luxurious living, and that they plac'd their chief Strength in mighty Bodies of *Mercenaries*, they were quickly subdu'd by the MILITIA of *Italy*; nor would the Inhabitants of

of that Country perform leſs at this preſent time, were they under the ſame Diſcipline. The *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Brittons* were more valiant, it's true, than the *Aſiatic* Nations, and better order'd (for they were a kind of MILITIA) but they were alſo finally ſubdu'd and broken by the *Roman* Legions. On the other hand, when the Sword was taken from the *Citizens* or *Freemen*, and put into the Hands of *Servants* by the Arbitrary Emperors who durſt not truſt Men of Property, the Oriental Countries not only ſhook off the *Roman* Empire; but likewiſe the *Lombards* and *Goths* invaded *Italy* it ſelf; and tho not exceeding the old *Gauls* and *Germans* in Courage or Conduct, yet they abſolutely conquer'd the Conquerors of the World. In ſhort, the *Romans* loſt their LIBERTY and PROPERTY, and with them all that ardent LOVE to their Country, which made them ſo freely bleed in its Defence before. And indeed no Man of ſenſe ever meant any other thing by that Inclination for one's Country,

try, ſo much celebrated in the Works of Orators and Poets, but only the good Government of it. *Dimicare pro Aris & Focis* was a ſynonymous Expreſſion in the mouth of a *Roman*, for *pugnare pro Patria*. Hence it is that BRUTUS reproaching CICERO for the ſervile Court he made to OCTAVIUS, ſpeaks to him in theſe Terms; † *Do you believe then*, ſays he, *that we receive Security when our Lives are ſpar'd? Or how can we accept of the latter, if firſt we muſt part with our Liberty and Dignity? Do you think that to be ſafe, it is enough to live at* Rome? *The Thing and not the Place can only put me in that condition.* And afterwards he adds, * *Either I ſhall reduce thoſe to their Duty who oppreſs their Country, or remove to a great*

† Videmur ergo tibi Salutem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus? Quam, ſi prius dimittimus Dignitatem & Libertatem, quî poſſumus accipere? An tu Romæ habitare, id putas incolumem eſſe? Res non Locus oportet præſtet iſtuc mihi? *Lib. ad Brut. Ep.* 16.

* ——Aut longe à ſervientibus abero, mihique eſſe judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum eſſe licebit. *Id. ibid.*

great distance from you that are willing to be Slaves, and, wherever I may be free, there think my self in Rome. We likewise are taught to love our Country above all others, valuing our selves every moment upon being ENGLISH MEN; and that most deservedly, for we cannot speak too magnificently of our Felicity. But we never mean our Soil or Climate, seeing these are much excel'd by several others in the World; therefore it must be our Government that makes the Scale heavier on our side. A partial Affection to the Land where we first drew our Breath, abstracted from other Considerations, is but a childish Prejudice, not less ridiculous than that of some elder Persons, who think it an extraordinary Blessing to be laid in the same Graves with their Relations. The *Romans* then were always possess'd with a hearty Kindness for their Country; and being earnestly desirous of returning to it in Peace, as well as certain of receiving the Rewards and Applause due to their Merit, they perform'd Wonders abroad.

The

The Reaſon why no other People did as much is, becauſe the Government of no other Place was ſo well conſtituted. Here was no difference between the *Citizen* and the *Stateſman*, between the *Husbandman* and the *Soldier*; whence the Minds of the Inhabitants were enlarg'd to that degree, that they became capable of deſigning and effecting every thing. Their KNOWLEDG and POLITENESS made them ſenſible of the Excellency of their Conſtitution, which ſtill encreas'd their Fondneſs of it, and render'd 'em ſo valiant to preſerve it. Their City and Territory were divided into ſeveral TRIBES, not unlike our Counties, and their Aſſemblies call'd COMITIA TRIBUTA. Their People again were diſtributed into ſix *Claſſes*, beſides the leſſer Diviſions of *Centuries*, and *Curiæ* or *Pariſhes*. Now, their MILITIA going always abroad by *Rotation* out of the *Tribes* and *Colonies*, together not ſeldom with their *Allies*, whenever they were beaten (as in the dubious Events of War it muſt happen ſometimes) they were immediately

mediately repair'd; and ſo one Army conſtantly ſent after another, which could not fail where the People were all diſciplin'd, till no Force whatſoever was able to ſtand before them. But when a *Mercenary* Army is once routed and diſpers'd, then all is irrecoverably loſt, becauſe that either you cannot preſently take the Field again, or you only oppoſe the Enemy with undiſciplin'd Multitudes. Now we may eaſily conceive why a MILITIA of *Freemen* are for venturing a Battle whenever they are favor'd with an Opportunity of doing it, whereas MERCENARIES are obſerv'd to decline fighting as much as they can; for, to ſpeak nothing of what we ſaid before concerning their different Diſpoſitions, the firſt are ſure of making good their Loſſes by a *Rotation* of their Fellows, and the latter wait for Advantages, becauſe the Loſs of one Battle is often enough to ruin them. From all that is premis'd, I think I may conclude, that to make ſucceſſive Levies of our own FREE MILITIA out of the ſeveral Parts of

England, and corroborated with ſome AUXILIARY REGIMENTS, is the beſt Method of waging the Wars abroad, whether we deſign to bring 'em to a ſpeedy Period, or to ſpread wider the Terror of our Fame and Arms. The Names of all Perſons capable of Military Duties in every County muſt be carefully regiſtr'd to facilitate the *Rotation*, as was done in the *Roman* Tribes, where every Man was ſworn (both in regard of the Charge and Service) to conceal neither the Name, Age, Condition, or Quality of any in his Family, that every one, who was able, might by his Purſe or Perſon contribute to the Publick Good. The Regiments may likewiſe be denominated from the *Countries* or Places that ſend them, which will create an Emulation in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom to outdo each other's Actions. They will be as eager ſometimes for regaining the Honor which one loſt, as fearful to loſe what the other won. Thus Men of ARTS and ARMS will be the very ſame Species among us, whereas now they are extremely diffe-

different in moſt Parts of the World; for the former are generally *Cowards*, and the latter *barbarous* and *rude*. From all theſe Conſiderations, I cannot be perſwaded that any Man of *Property* will refuſe to go in his turn (which can ſeldom happen) on forein Service. If he hires a mean Perſon to ſupply his Place, this is raiſing a *Mercenary Army*, whereby he makes his *Man* become his *Maſter*. And how little ſoever FREEMEN think of the matter, while ſuch Creatures are out of the Kingdom, yet they'l find 'em wonderful troubleſom on their Return, ſhould there be no other Difficulty but that ſingle one of disbanding 'em. 'Tis ſtrange what a Confuſion very ſmall Numbers of 'em produce in a Country, as has been abundantly demonſtrated by the Ingenious Author of the unanſwerable *Argument againſt a Standing Army*. The few Soldiers that return'd in King *CHARLES* the Firſt's time from an unſucceſsful Voyage to *Cadiz*, were not preſently disbanded as they ought to have been, but quarter'd up and down in

ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom: And a Great Perſon, who was an Eye-witneſs tells us, "That theſe ‖ Soldiers broke out into great Diſorders; they MASTER'D the People, diſturb'd the Peace of Families, and the Civil Government of the Land; there were frequent Robberies, Burglaries, Rapes, Rapines, Murders, and barbarous Cruelties; unto ſome PLACES they were ſent as a PUNISHMENT; and wherever they came, there was a general Outcry. The High-ways were dangerous, and the Markets unfrequented; they were a Terror to all, and undoing to many. I ſaid before, that every *Roman Freeman* was oblig'd to bear Arms (if need were) twenty times from the ſeventeenth to the ſix and fortieth Year of his Age; that they were excus'd from Duty after fifty; and that in caſe of extraordinary Neceſſity the old Soldiers might be compel'd if they did not give in their Names when deſir'd, but that they

‖ Ruſhworth's *Collect. Vol.* I. *p.* 420.

they did for the moſt part voluntarily offer their Service to their Country. This whole matter, with ſeveral other admirable Effects of their Diſcipline, is repreſented to the life in the Speech of a Farmer to LICINIUS a *Roman* General. When the War was declar'd againſt PERSEUS King of *Macedonia*, ſeveral Veterans were liſted and came in freely; but ſome of 'em were diſpleas'd, that they ſhould be plac'd in any lower Order than they had formerly poſſeſs'd. This occaſioning a Difference between the *Conſuls* and the *Tribunes* of the People, out ſteps the Countryman, and beſpeaks the Aſſembly in the following manner: "* I am SPURIUS LIGUSTI-
" NUS, O *ROMANS*, of the *Cruſ-*
" *tumin* Tribe, and originally a *Sa-*
" *bin*. My Father left me a little
" ſpot of Land, with a ſmall Houſe,
" in which I was born and bred, and
" I dwell there at this time. As
" ſoon

* Spurius Liguſtinus tribus Cruſtuminæ ex Sabinis ſum oriundus, Quirites. Pater mihi jugerum agri reliquit, & parvum tugurium in quo natus educatuſque ſum; hodieque ibi habito. Quum primum

" ſoon as I was of Age, he gave me
" in Marriage his own Brother's
" Daughter, who, excepting her
" Chaſtity, and that ſhe was free-
" born, brought me no other Dow-
" ry; yet fruitful enough to ſupply
" a richer Family. We have ſix
" Sons and two Daughters, the lat-
" ter both marri'd. Of our Sons
" four are grown Men, and the o-
" ther two yet Striplings. I firſt
" bore Arms in the Conſulſhip of
" PUBLIUS SULPITIUS, and
" CAIUS AURELIUS. I was two
" Years a private Soldier in that Ar-
" my which was tranſported into
" *Macedonia* againſt King *PHILIP*:
" The third Year *FLAMINIUS*, in
" regard of my Merit aſſign'd me
" the tenth Diviſion of the Spearmen.

PHILIP

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mum in ætatem veni, pater mihi uxorem fratris ſui filiam dedit: quæ ſecum nihil attulit præter libertatem pudicitiamque, & cum his fœcunditatem, quanta vel in diti domo ſatis eſſet. Sex filii nobis, duæ filiæ ſunt; utræque jam nuptæ. Filii quatuor togas viriles habent, duo prætextati ſunt. Miles ſum factus, P. Sulpitio, C. Aurelio Conſulibus. In eo exercitu qui in Macedoniam eſt tranſportatus, biennium miles gregarius fui adverſus Philippum regem: tertio anno virtutis cauſa mihi T. Quintius Flaminius decumum ordinem haſtatum aſſignavit.

Devicto

" PHILIP and the *Macedonians* be-
" ing conquer'd, when we were
" brought back into *Italy* and dis-
" banded, I went immediately a
" Voluntier under MARCUS POR-
" TIUS the Conſul into *Spain*.
" That of all Generals living, he
" was the moſt nice Conſiderer and
" Judg of Merit, is known to eve-
" ry one who has been any conſide-
" rable time in the Field under him
" or other Commanders: Now, he
" thought me worthy to preſide over
" the firſt Order of the firſt Centu-
" ry of the Spearmen. I went the
" third time a Voluntier in that Ar-
" my which was ſent againſt the *Eto-*
" *lians* and King ANTIOCHUS, when
" MANLIUS ACILIUS created
" me

Devicto Philippo Macedonibuſque, quum in Italiam portati ac dimiſſi eſſemus, continuo Miles voluntarius cum M. Portio Conſule in Hiſpaniam ſum profectus. Neminem omnium Imperatorum, qui vivant, acriorem virtutis ſpectatorem ac judicem fuiſſe ſciunt, qui & illum & alios duces longa militia experti ſunt. Hic me Imperator dignum judicavit cui primum haſtatum prioris centuriæ aſſignaret. Tertio iterum voluntarius miles factus ſum in eum exercitum, qui adverſus Ætolos & Antiochum regem eſt miſſus. A Man. Acilio mihi primus princeps

" me firſt Commander of the firſt
" Century. But ANTIOCHUS
" being expel'd, and the *Etolians* re-
" duc'd, we return'd into *Italy*, and
" there I ſerv'd two of thoſe Cam-
" pagns to which the Legions are
" annually oblig'd. Afterwards I
" was twice a Soldier in *Spain*;
" once under the Pretor QUINTUS
" FULVIUS FLACCUS, and a-
" gain under TIBERIUS SEM-
" PRONIUS GRACCHUS. I was
" brought home by FLACCUS a-
" mong the reſt of thoſe whom he
" had choſen for their Courage to
" grace his Triumph; and return'd
" back into that Province at the re-
" queſt of TIBERIUS GRAC-
" CHUS. I was Captain of the firſt
" Company of the Regiment four
" times

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princeps prioris centuriæ eſt aſſignatus. Expulſo rege Antiocho, ſubactis Ætolis, reportati ſumus in Italiam: & deinceps bis, quæ annua merebant legiones, ſtipendia feci. Bis deinde in Hiſpania militavi, ſemel Q. Fulvio Flacco, iterum Ti. Sempronio Graccho Prætore. A Flacco inter cæteros, quos virtutis cauſa ſecum ex provincia ad triumphum deducebat, deductus ſum. A Ti. Graccho rogatus, in provinciam ij. Quater intra pauços annos primum

" times within the ſpace of a few
" Years: I was by my Generals re-
" warded four and thirty times for
" my Valour: I receiv'd ſix Civic
" Crowns for ſaving the Lives of
" ſo many Citizens: I have taken
" Pay, in a word, two and twenty
" times in the Army, and am now
" above fifty Years old. But if I
" had not compleated the Number
" appointed by Law, nor were to
" be excus'd from Duty by reaſon
" of my Age; yet ſince in my own
" room I could give you, LICINI-
" us, four Soldiers, it were juſt I
" ſhould be diſcharg'd. But I would
" have all this underſtood only of
" the goodneſs of my Cauſe, were I
" diſpos'd to plead it; for as long as
" any

primum pilum duxi: quater & tricies virtutis cauſa donatus ab Imperatoribus ſum: ſex civicas coronas accepi: viginti duo ſtipendia annua in exercitu emerita habeo; & major annis ſum quinquaginta. Quod ſi mihi nec ſtipendia omnia emerita eſſent, nec dum ætas vacationem daret, tamen quum quatuor milites pro me uno vobis dare, P. Licini, poſſem, æquum erat me dimitti. Sed hæc pro cauſa mea dicta accipiatis velim: ipſe me, quoad quiſquam

" any General judges me an able Sol-
" dier, I ſhall never excuſe my ſelf.
" What Poſt the Tribunes will aſſign
" me, lies in their own breaſts. And,
" that none in the Army exceed me in
" Courage, ſhall be my endeavour:
" for, that it has been always ſo,
" my ſuperior Officers, and ſuch as
" ſerv'd along with me, are wit-
" neſſes. Now altho, Fellow-Sol-
" diers, you claim to your ſelves
" the right of Appeal; yet ſince
" during the whole courſe of your
" Youth you never did any thing a-
" gainſt the Authority of the Senate
" or Magiſtrates, 'tis fit that you
" now alſo pay Obedience to the Se-
" nate and Conſuls, eſteeming all
" thoſe

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quam qui exercitus ſcribit, idoneum militem judicabit, nunquam ſum excuſaturus. Ordinem quo me dignum judicent Tribuni militum, ipſorum eſt poteſtatis: ne quis me virtute in exercitu præſtet, dabo operam; ut ſemper ita feciſſe me, & Imperatores mei, & qui una ſtipendia fecerunt, teſtes ſunt. Vos quoque æquum eſt, Commilitones, etſi appellationis vobis uſurpatis jus, quum adoleſcentes nihil adverſus Magiſtratum Senatuſq; autoritatem uſquam feceritis, nunc quoque in poteſtate Senatus ac Conſulum eſſe, & omnia honeſta loca ducere, quibus Rempublicam defenſuri ſitis. *Livius l.* 42. *c.* 34.

" thoſe Poſts to be honorable, " wherein you have an opportunity " of defending your Country. Having thus harangu'd, the *Conſul*, after commending him with many words, led him out of the Aſſembly into the Senate, where he receiv'd the Thanks of the Houſe; and he was by the Military Tribunes prefer'd according to his deſert: whereupon the other Centurions quitted their Appeal, and readily compli'd with the pleaſure of their Superiors.

14. All Men would live ſomewhere eternally if they could, and they affect to become Immortal even here on Earth. To have their Names perpetuated, was the true Spring of ſeveral great Mens Actions; and for that only end, have they patiently undergon all manner of Toil and Danger. But this Inclination never diſcovers it ſelf ſo plainly, as in the care Men take of their Poſterity. Some are content to live Beggers all their Days, that their Children after them may be rich: for they look upon theſe as their own Perſons multipli'd by Propagation; whence ſuch

as had none themſelves, adopted the Children of others to bear their Names. The Legiſlator of the *Iſraelites*, as well as he of *Sparta*, had a peculiar regard to this natural Deſire, which in no Country muſt be neglected for Reaſons upon which I need not inſiſt at this time; Wherefore the Ninth Propoſition is, THAT NO MAN BE OBLIG'D TO GO UPON ANY FOREIN EXPEDITION DURING ONE YEAR AFTER HIS MARRIAGE; NOR ALL THE SONS OF ANY MAN AT ONCE; NOR AN ONLY SON EVER, UNLESS HE'S WILLING HIMSELF. The Deſign of this Propoſition is made ſo plain already, that, without more to do, I may paſs to the Tenth and laſt of our Scheme, which is, THAT ALL LEVIES PERMITTED TO FOREIN STATES IN THIS KINGDOM, OR ANY FORCES LENT TO THEM, DO ENTIRELY CONSIST OF AUXILIARIES; AND THAT NO FREEMAN HAVE LEAVE TO SERVE ABROAD UNLESS AS A VOLUNTIER

TIER TO QUALIFY HIMSELF FOR IMPLOIMENT AT HOME. The Reaſonableneſs of this Propoſition is likewiſe ſo evident from what went before, that it wants no larger Commentary. I could add here ſeveral other Particulars, but they'l come to be eſtabliſh'd of courſe, if this SCHEME prevails wholly, or for the beſt part. I ſhall therefore write nothing now concerning the Methods of Liſting or Disbanding, of Paying or Clothing, nor of Rewards or Puniſhments; tho with reſpect to the laſt, I cannot omit one pleaſant Paſſage: for the *Romans* among divers kinds of Penalties, ſuch as Fine or Impriſonment, us'd upon certain Occaſions to * let a Soldier Blood, as if it had been Madneſs or Folly in him to commit ſuch Faults, and that he wanted Phyſick more than Correction.

15. If

* Fuit hac quoque antiquitus militaris animadverſio, jubere ignominiæ cauſa militi venam ſolvi et ſanguinem dimitti;--ut non tam pœna quam medicina videretur. *A. Gellius, l.* 10. *c.* 8.

15. If this *Scheme of Reforming the* MILITIA be ſo intelligible and coherent, as I flatter my ſelf it may, it would be a ſuperfluous Labor, and no Complement upon the Reader's Sagacity, to remark diſtinctly all the good Effects and Conſequences of it. Yet one I find convenient to mention, not that I think it leſs obvious than the reſt, for it appears moſt evident at firſt ſight; but becauſe ſome Gentlemen are pleas'd to oppoſe it, and it is that I am for ARMING ALL THE PEOPLE. Now this is, in my Opinion, ſo uſeful and neceſſary, that, ſhould we obtain nothing beſides, it were well worth our while to procure an Act for this alone: For what can better demonſtrate the Confidence his Majeſty places in the unqueſtionable Affection of his Subjects, or more encreaſe and confirm the Veneration theſe have for him, than that he puts 'em in a Condition of defending themſelves againſt all his and their Enemies, without needing or expecting the Aſſiſtance of others? But notwithſtanding I took all poſ-

ſible

ſible care to be duly inform'd, I could never hear any weighty Objection made to this Propoſition, tho two are commonly offer'd, and the firſt of 'em is, that there will be no end of *Robberies*, and *Houſe-breakings* in the Country, if the common People be once arm'd. I perceive theſe Gentlemen deſign to be *popular*, and the Vulgar are hugely oblig'd to 'em for their good Opinion. But ſuppoſing the worſt, *Robberies* will be ſo far from being more frequent than at this time, that this is the only right Method of totally ſuppreſſing all ſuch Diſorders. It is an ordinary thing for two or three Fellows to commit a *Robbery* in ſight of twenty People, ſtronger and ſtouter than themſelves, but that are either without Arms, or know not how to uſe 'em; whereas, upon the foot of our MODEL, when any Houſe or Perſons are known to be attack'd, they are not only provided for their own Defence, but the Neighbours are all ready to come in to their Aſſiſtance, both with Arms in their hands, and as able to handle 'em

'em as *House-breakers* can be suppos'd to do. But if the objecting Gentlemen have any meaning, it is that *Rogues* only should have Arms, and honest Men none to oppose them: For when any are dispos'd to violate the Laws, they always take care to arm themselves without any deference to Publick Authority; nor do we find that Thieves ever want Weapons, notwithstanding any Prohibitions to the contrary, which they no more regard than they do those which forbid 'em to steal. But good Men, on the contrary, will yield Obedience to the Laws; and so be expos'd, if thus left naked and unarm'd, to the Insults and Assaults of the most determin'd Villains. The next Objection is, That if the People be arm'd, there's an end of all the GAME in the Kingdom. Now supposing this were true, I think of the two we should sooner expose a few Birds to the People, than the People to the French or other Enemies. But indeed the GAME is in no danger. Deer, for example, might

might be deſtroy'd with Bows and Arrows, no leſs than with Guns; yet in old times Engliſhmen were not diſarm'd, but reſtrain'd from ſhooting Deer only by Laws, which may be accommodated to Guns as well as to Bows. Hare, Partridg and Pheaſant are the principal GAME for Gentlemens diverſion; and every one knows that theſe are more conveniently and frequently deſtroy'd by Nets, Hounds, Setting-dogs, and other Methods, than by ſhooting. Severe Penalties, which thoſe concern'd will be ſure to ſee inflicted, will prevent any thing of this nature; and I hope we'l never ſee the Nation diſarm'd a ſecond time, under pretence of preſerving the GAME. But, perhaps, it will be ſaid, that altho FREEMEN may be truſted with Arms, there will be danger from the *Poor* and *Servile*. This Objection was ſufficiently anſwer'd in the Diſcourſe ſubjoin'd to the Second Propoſition; and beſides I may add, if that will ſatisfy, that *Servants* are not arm'd according to this Scheme, but only diſciplin'd againſt a time of

Neceſſity. I ſuppos'd before an *Armory* in every Pariſh, out of which on the days of Exerciſe only the *Poor* and *Servants* are furniſh'd. And here I would not forget to hint that all ſuch Arms provided at the Parochial Charge ſhould be try'd and approv'd at the Tower of *London*, without any Liberty left to the Overſeers to purchaſe others for this end, and that they be likewiſe all diſtinguiſh'd by the Pariſh Mark. I had ſeveral Opportunities in this Diſcourſe to ſhew the Defects of the Act now in force for regulating the MILITIA, and my laſt Remark upon it ſhall be, that the *Iſles of Wight* and *Purbeck* are left to * train their People as formerly. The *Tower-Hamlets* likewiſe *having been always* (as 'tis ſaid in the Act) *under the Command of his Majeſty's Conſtable or Lieutenant of the Tower for the Service and Preſervation of that Fort*, are permitted to be diſciplin'd in ſuch manner and form as heretofore.

The

* 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 22, 30, 31.

The Reaſon of this Clauſe is very plain; for thoſe two Iſlands lying ſo much expos'd to forein Invaſions, it was fit they ſhould be extraordinarily well provided for Defence. And ſo the *Tower-Hamlets*, becauſe they were to keep Guard in the Tower, and might from thence diſtreſs the City, tho, leſt they might not prove ſo unkind to their Neighbours, they were neglected as the reſt, and exercis'd according to the Act: but the other Parts of the Kingdom being moſt likely to diſreliſh the Meaſures of the COURT, were induſtriouſly made uncapable of Reſiſtance. And that this Suſpicion may not ſeem ill grounded or malicious, I would fain know which was the beſt Model of training the MILITIA, the New or the Old? if the former, why ſhould the Benefit of it be deny'd to thoſe Places that ſtood moſt in need of it? and if the latter, why ought not the whole Nation to be as ſufficiently train'd as one or two Iſlands? But all Perſons own that *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, *Wight* and *Purbeck*, are equal

in their Diſcipline to any Standing Forces. But of this enough; nor can I allow my ſelf to queſtion but all Parties will now unanimouſly join to render the MILITIA uſeful for the King's and our common Preſervation: for that a *Standing Army* or a *Militia* is of abſolute Neceſſity, is agreed on every ſide; but the *Army* is order'd to be disbanded, and ſhould thoſe who were for continuing it now oppoſe the regulating of the *Militia*, they give us a Demonſtration that either they never thought us in ſo great Danger as they pretended, or that they would have us entirely loſt, becauſe we refus'd to be ſav'd after their Method, tho our own be more effectual and leſs expenſive. I ſhould now conclude, ſeeing no Objection remains againſt *arming the whole Free People of* England; but I muſt firſt take notice, that our Anceſtors in *Germany* did in the time of the *Roman* Empire practiſe the very ſame thing, and that they always came arm'd to their Publick Aſſem-

Assemblies. || *The Germans transact no publick or private Affairs,* says *TACITUS, but under their Arms; yet is it not usual for any to carry Arms till the Community first allows him to be capable. Then some principal Person in the Assembly, or the young Man's own Father, or one of his Relations, gives him a Shield and Spear. This is their Ceremony of declaring them to be of Age, and this is the first Honor conferr'd on Youth. They were consider'd only as belonging to a private Family before, but as a part of the Publick ever after.* That this was our own Original Constitution in the *Saxon* time, none can be ignorant who is never so little vers'd in our antient Customs and Writings. But we read particularly in King *EDWARD*'s Laws, that upon a Day and Place ap-

|| Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed Arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam Civitas sufficturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus Scuto Frameaque juvenem ornant. Hæc apud illos Toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox Reipublicæ. *De moribus German. cap.* 13.

appointed, all that ow'd Suit and Service to any *Hundred* came to meet their new Governor, who ſtuck his Lance in the Earth, and then took Fealty of them, which they perform'd by touching the Governor's Lance with their own (as the *Germans* us'd to give their Aſſent by clattering their Arms) whence the whole Place or Meeting was then, as it is now in ſome of the Northern Parts of *England*, call'd a *Wapentake*, from the touching of their Weapons.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 15. line 24. read *keep it.* In the Margin, P. 29. l. 2. r. 14 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 3. §. 21. P. 41. l. 28. for *ſixty* r. *twenty.* P. 58. l. 11. dele *it.*